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The educational situation of disadvantaged groups in Israel and England is reviewed. The nature of the immigrant and disadvantaged populations, the kind and extent of schooling available, and the positions of local educational authorities and of the two governments are discussed. Also included are descriptions of various programs for disadvantaged students as well as of official and quasi-official reports. Unique to Israel are the kibbutzim (collective settlements) and the Israeli Defense Forces as educational and acculturational institutions. In England, a special situation exists as a consequence of the controversial political issue of restrictive immigration. While there has been a considerable communication flow between Israel and the United States on approaches to and studies of education for disadvantaged groups, the similarities and parallels between England and the United States warrant establishment of more systematic and comprehensive channels for a regular flow of information. (NH)

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Immigrants and Disadvantaged in Israel and England

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A Report to the New World Foundation

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The New World Foundation provided a grant to study "problems of immigration and acculturation of the disadvantaged in Israel and England and of the ways in which educators deal with them." The study was conducted during several periods: (1) a three-week trip to Israel in December 1967-January 1968; (2) a four-day trip to England in May 1968; (3) a four-week trip to England in June-July 1968; and (4) a four-week trip to Israel in July-August 1968. In addition, an eight-day conference at the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg discussed the topic, "Deprivation and Disadvantage." Finally, the major paper on "Cultural Deprivation" was presented at a symposium at the XVIth International Congress on Applied Psychology in Amsterdam. Researchers from Israel and England participated in both these meetings and prepared "national papers" in advance. Prior to each of the trips, correspondence helped prepare the ground work for meetings and visits.

Immigrants and Disadvantaged in Israel

In its 1948 Proclamation of Independence, the State of Israel declared that it would "be opened to Jewish immigration and the ingathering of exiles. It will devote itself to developing the Land for the good of all its inhabitants." Thus, Israel has become and is essentially a nation of immigrants, many of whom have come from underdeveloped nations of the middle east and North Africa. At the time of its creation, in 1948, the population was 770,000. The population doubled in the next three years to 1,577,823 and quadrupled by 1967; two thirds of this increase in population is due to immigration. The population at the beginning of 1967 was 2,657,400, consisting of 2,344,900 Jews, 223,000 Moslems, 58,500 Christians, 31,000 Druze and others. The Jews who are not native-born come from 100 different countries. (Not included in these figures are the approximately 1,000,000 persons who are under Israeli administration as a consequence of the 1967 Six-Day War.)

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, roughly ten percent of the Jewish immigrants came from the underdeveloped countries of the Islamic Middle East; after 1948, more than half of the immigrants came from North African and Arab

countries. These Jews are described as "Oriental" to distinguish them from westernized Jews or "Sabras" (native-born). As a group, immigrants from the Moslem Afro-Asian countries arrived with very large families whose adult member were usually functionally illiterate, having had no formal modern education, and vocationally unskilled. Thus, the gap between the native-born Israelis, the veteran of prior immigrations and the immigrants from the European countries on the one hand, and the new immigrants tended to be tremendous and one which had to be bridged for sheer survival of Israel as a nation. As Chaim Adler has pointed out, "It was natural that Israel's policies of integration or 'absorption' were mostly aime at diminishing the gaps or differences by processes of modernizing the immigrant groups, and not by planning a new or mixed cultural entity."

The absorption of immigrants into a modern, western-oriented technological society has been both one of Israel's continuing goals as well as its major problem. The significance of this national policy of absorption of immigrants it that it seems to have produced a commitment to deal with the causes of problems, not only with symptoms. Consequently, Israel must deal with all aspects of the problems of absorption: housing, employment, education, health, social welfare and general acculturation. Persons from many countries, having little in common except that they are Jews, arrive in Israel in poverty for the most part, with a guaranteed righ to begin a new life with help from the state.

In the last few years, immigration has begun to decline. Between April 1, 196 and December 31, 1967, of the total of 950,474 immigrants, some 88 percent came from countries where Jews were living in either political and/or economic distress; the remaining 12 percent had left more affluent and stable regions. The sources of immigration from the countries of distress have tended to diminish and some countri (e.g., Russia) which have a large reservoir of potential immigrants, have from time to time prohibited immigration. Because of geopolitical and demographic pressures on the state of Israel, increased manpower is of vital importance. Consequently, efforts have been made to increase immigration from countries of high economic and educational standards, since these hold the most substantial reserves of immigr In addition, efforts are made to interest tourists in permanent residence and to re-attract Israelis who have migrated elsewhere. The decline in overall immigration, the preponderance of North African and Middle Eastern nationals, and the somewhat lower age of newcomers have posed serious problems with respect to education, hou employment, and needed services.

The plans for absorption-through-modernization do not include the local Israeli Arab minority. When the Israelis describe their programs for absorption of immigrant populations and activities aimed at the disadvantaged, they refer almos exclusively to Jewish groups. The children of the Israeli Arab attend separate schoo Their parents are perceived as potentially identifying with anti-Israel movements wit which they are related religiously, culturally and, in some instances, even politicall One Israeli sociologist put it differently: "Whereas we saw a deep commitment on th

part of the Israeli society to integrate fully the immigrants of Asian-African origin, for the fulfillment of which elaborate apparatus has been established, the cultural, historical, and religious distinctness of the Arab minority has always been accepted and recognized." However this situation is described, the fact remains that the local Israeli Arab minority is isolated and its children attend separate and not always equal schools. College attendance by Arab youth is very limited. Unlike other Israeli youth, Arab youth are not enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces.

In 1967, the total student population was 757,000 including 77,500 at the Arab schools. There were 96,000 children in kindergartens, 462,000 in primary schools, 118,000 in post-primary and secondary schools, 7,500 in teacher-training colleges, 26,5000 at institutions of higher learning and 46,500 in other educational establishments. The total number of schools was 5,200. The teaching force consisted of 25,000 women and 16,000 men teachers.

In summer 1968, after long debate in which the teachers union stood solidly opposed, the government accepted the recommendations of the Prawer Commission to reorganize education and to extend compulsory attendance for one year. Israel already had established kindergartens for children ages three-to-five; education is compulsory and free for all five-year olds. Most of the kindergartens are operated as institutions separate from primary schools, much as are the infant schools in England. Eight-year schools, also free and compulsory, are open for six days a week, Sunday through Friday, with classes usually beginning at 8:00 a.m. and continuing to noon or 1:00 p.m.. The recently passed reform alters the structure of primary schools to provide for a middle school with grades 7 through 9. Primary schools will continue as neighborhood-centered; the new middle schools will have larger catchment areas, thus facilitating some element of integration, as well as extending compulsory education by one year.

There are three types of primary schools: state schools, religious state schools and "recognized" schools. Both the state and the religious state schools operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The former provide education "on the basis of the curriculum, without attachment to a party or communal body or any other organization outside the Government, and under the supervision of the Minister or a person authorized by him." The latter provide "state education with the distinction that its institutions are religious as to their way of life, curriculum, teachers and inspectors." The state budgetary supported "recognized" schools are owned and operated by the Agudat, serving the most religiously orthodox strata of the population. Just under two-thirds of the primary school enrollment are in state schools, another 29 percent are in religious state schools and 8 percent are in the "recognized" schools.

Secondary education is neither free nor compulsory; nonetheless, more than 60 percent of Jewish youth aged 14-17 attend secondary schools -- a relatively high proportion. Tuition at these secondary schools ranges from IL 875 to IL 1,025 a year

($250 - $300) with state and local authority subventions, based on parental income, providing up to 100 percent of the fees. About half of the pupils, including those who pass the entrance examination in development areas, pay no fees whatsoever. There has been a severe shortage of secondary schools as Israel allocated its scarce financial resources first to the primary schools. However, the United Jewish Appeal (U.S.) has undertaken a special drive to provide for 72 new secondary schools or additions to existing ones. The UJA Israel Education Fund is planning 31 comprehensive, 8 academic, 30 vocational, and 3 maritime secondary schools.

A significant discrepancy emerges in secondary school attendance rates for European and Oriental youth. In 1962-63, of the total enrollment of about 90,000, only 15 percent were from the Oriental group. Because of this disproportion, the Ministry of Education and Culture determined to expand the network of secondary schools.

There are three major types of secondary schools: academic, vocational and agricultural. The academic school may be either a four- or six-year secondary institution which follows the academic pattern of the German gymnasium. The vocational schools provide programs ranging from basic skill training to relatively high technical training. The agricultural schools provide practical agricultural training with general education. Despite the variety among the three types of schools, more than three-fourths of the students are found in the academic high schools. There is some movement toward developing so-called comprehensive secondary schools which would combine elements of academic, vocational and agricultural programs. The comphrehensive schools built thus far have been located and designedespecially for youth in the developing immigrant settlements and towns.

The secondary school system is fee-charging and begins beyond compulsory attendance age. Owned and maintained by private organizations in cooperation with local government units, secondary schools are operated with the cooperation of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Most of the income of the academic high school derives from tuition and fees with contributions and subsidies making up the deficits. About a dozen years ago, a graduated-tuition system was initiated with fees based on ability and need -- the latter being economic need determined by size of family, number of siblings already in secondary school, parental income, etc. To determine qualified entrants, the so-called Seker examination is administered to all pupils at the end of the eighth grade. Two sets of norms are used to increase the number of Orientals in the secondary schools. Since experience had indicated that the Oriental children were at a disadvantage in terms of qualifying on the examination, children from European or native Israeli backgrounds must score 80 or above while the Oriental child need score only 68 or above.

For those youth who wish to enroll in vocational and agricultural schools, tuition grants are made regardless of the examination scores. Obviously, the attempt is made to encourage more enrollment in the agricultural and vocational schools through these liberal grants of tuition allowances.

The Oriental population represents about 50 percent of the total Jewish population presently but their children comprise roughly 65 percent of the primary school population. The scholastic achievement of the Oriental group tends to be far lower than that of children from European backgrounds. Thus, when one applies criteria such as scholastic performance, secondary school attendance, university attendance, etc., the gap between the groups is quite large and the Orientals are disadvantaged educationally. In Israel's precarious condition, where its sheer existence depends on its technical and scientific know-how, concern with the disadvantaged population has a survival motivation.

The rate of attendance of European students in academic high schools is still three times that of the rate of the Oriental students; a decade ago it was six times higher. In the vocational schools, the rate of attendance of Oriental children is consistently if slightly higher than that of European children. There are practically no differences between the two groups in agricultural schools and the rates of attendance for both is clearly decreasing. Compared with natives of Israel of European backgrounds, Israelis of Oriental descent tend to have much lower attendance rates at all levels and in all types of institutions. Both groups reveal rising percentages obtaining higher education.

The immigrants from Europe and America are generally characterized by the greatest amount of upward occupational mobility and change in occupation from those of their fathers. A study by Matras pointed out:

> European and Israeli born sons are more likely to enter the professional and technical occupations than are Oriental immigrants;
>
> Oriental sons are much more likely to be in unskilled occupations than are the sons from European or Israeli born groups;
>
> European and Israeli born sons of unskilled workers are not likely to be unskilled workers themselves but almost half of the sons of Oriental unskilled workers are likely to enter unskilled occupations;
>
> There is much upward mobility among sons of unskilled Israeli and European workers;
>
> In all ethnic groups, sons of fathers in agricultural work tend to remain in this occupation, although it is less true for the European background;
>
> And the proportions of skilled and semi-skilled tend to increase in all groups.

Acording to Moshe Smilansky, the official policy regarding advancement of culturally disadvantaged groups can be divided into three main periods: (1) First Decade (1948-1957, when the state pressured immigrants to disregard their own backgrounds and to adopt the dominant European-oriented pattern, out of conviction

that formal equality and sufficient time would close the educational gap; (2) Second Decade (1957-1966), when the Minister of Education instituted "State Protection" compensatory programs, favoring the disadvantaged in the belief that the emergency short-term remedial measures would produce striking changes; (3) Third Decade (1967-present), when the realization struck home that there must be a long-range comprehensive and systematic attack on the value orientations of the community, expressed in a reform of the structure, content and mode of operation of the entire school system. The goal is an attitude of readiness for modernization and change.

Programs for the Disadvantaged. The Ministry of Education and Culture maintains a special branch which concerns itself with developing and administering programs for the disadvantaged which include an extended school day and an extended school year. Special programs in the Ministry of Education and Culture are under the direction of the Pedagogical Secretariat for Elementary Education, Center for T. T. Institutions. "T. T." is an abbriviation for Teunei-Tipuach -- "those in need of aid and development." Some 2,5000 classes containing 60,000 children provide 40 percent additional instructional time daily. Three criteria are used to determine which schools will qualify for this program, which provides 32 to 42 hours of instruction per week in contrast to the normal 24 to 32 hours. The weighted criteria include: (a) academic achievement (50 percent); (b) sub-standard qualifications of teachers and other staff (20 percent); (c) the background of the children at the school, including the origins of the parents and the language spoken at home (30 percent). It is estimated that 60 percent of the schools which qualify are involved in the so called Long Day Schools. Such schools are treated as units and the staff is provided with in-service training, specially prepared materials and additional resources. The focus is on improving scholastic achievement and enriching through extra-curricular activities. There is considerable attention to individual assistance for students with teachers helping the student undertake independent work, supplying him with supplementary materials and showing how they can be used by the pupil. The children participate in various extra-curricular activities, such as school newspapers, clubs, and committees. Artistic and aesthetic education are also emphasized and trips to museums, theatre, concerts are arranged when possible. The program also encourages independent reading of good literature or of children's newspapers. The program has some of the elements of "Higher Horizons" but appears to be more of an extension of the standard instructional program. The Henrietta Szold Institute is presently undertaking an evaluation of this program for the Ministry.

The Long-Year School strives to enrich students' knowledge and to provide additional material in schools which, because of limited resources, are not included in the school day programs. Some 20,000 children stay in these schools throughout July, thus extending the school year to eleven months instead of the normal ten months. This program takes the form of a summer day camp rather than the more formal school atmosphere; the class and its teacher continue as the basic organizational unit around which special activities, including trips, clubs and projects, take place.

A third program (Hach Batzal) involving some 2,000 classes in grades six through eight, arranged grouping and "setting" in language, mathematics and English

as a foreign language. An effort was made to provide the best teachers for the slowest classes or those with the lowest achievement. Special materials and activities were developed along with in-service education. A special committee is dealing with the problems of producing appropriate new books and other materials for the three groups, advising teachers how to use the materials and supervising the testing of the materials.

A Helping Teacher Program is being developed in which a staff of experienced teachers guides and supervises teachers on methods and materials. Remedial Teaching Program in Hebrew, reading, writing and arithmetic has been undertaken. This began with the development of special diagnostic tests to identify children in grades two through five who are of normal intelligence but who are behind in reading and mathematics. The classes are restricted to no more than 18 students, although there are never more than 8 in the classroom at one time. A special room is provided in the school with special materials employed by a specially trained remedial teacher. The child belongs to both a special help class as well as a regular class and he participates fully in all of the social activities. The goal of the class is to bring the child up to the level of the regular classes and to tailor individual work according to the needs of the child. Students usually remain in these special help classes one or two hours daily.

The Ma'Alot is an out-of-school program for sixth graders from several schools two afternoons per week. It operates in 20 Centers for Enrichment and Preparation of Students for Post-Elementary School. The selected youngsters represent the top quarter of the disadvantaged group, who are assembled for special tutoring and assistance in preparing for the examinations for secondary school. Some 5,000 children participate in this program.

There are also supplementray classes for children who have difficulty in reading and arithmetic. Each class has its own supplementary group in which the teacher in charge uses methods and materials different from the regular ones. Each student has a special detailed plan of work tailored to his individual needs. The plan includes subjects of study, length of time for the special treatment, and teaching media. Because the number of students in each group is somewhere between four and six, the teacher has additional time for the one-to-one relationship that disadvantaged children need.

The preparation of special textbooks began with Hebrew and language in the development of five special readers. Since then, history, geography, citizenship and Judaica have been added. The style and language are simpler; content is taken from everyday life and the immediate environment of the disadvantaged; work sheets for independent work by students are provided and guide books for the teachers are supplied.

Diverse styles of residential secondary schools have been tried out and opened for "gifted children" of Oriental origin and of the lower socio-economic groups. Students of such schools are integrated into regular high school classes, while living in their own dormitories. The purpose is to provide gifted disadvantaged youth with optimum learning conditions, including constant guidance and supervision of study, as well as appropriate enrichment. Thus, they are given certain advantages with respect to their living environment in an effort to equip them to compete successfully with more advantated children in the secondary school. At the same time it is hoped that the children in the secondary schools will benefit from the contact with this disadvantated group; at least, both are being educated under identical conditions and absorbing (presumably) similar values. Condidates for the residential schools for gifted disadvantaged pupils are of three types: (1) pupils who live in areas without adequate secondary schools capable of developing individual potential; (2) pupils with talent whose neighborhoods lack facilities for developing those talents; and (3) gifted pupils from disadvantaged families in urban areas. Preference is given to pupils from Oriental families and from urban areas, where the family situation discourages the child from progressing.

In the residential school, supplementary lessons are given to help the youngster advance in his high school studies. He is provided with cultural activities, extra-curricular clubs, entertainment and social activities. Because voluntary services to others is encouraged, pupils assist in schools in immigrant areas and help in the Mogen David Adom (the Israeli counterpart of Red Cross).

One evaluation of this program compared three groups: youngsters in the residential schools, with those of similar socio-cultural background and ability who were not accepted for the development program, and another control group of regular pupils who were successful in the Seker examination. Indications were that the percentage of pupils completing the 12th grade who sat for the high school matriculation certificate was far higher among the residential school pupils than within the other two control groups. The former seemed to be relatively successful in completing the regular high school. The relationship between pupils and their parents did not become indifferent nor negative and there were even some signs of an increased responsibility towards the position of the family. There were few if any problems of inter-ethnic relations in the residential school as such.

Among the maritime secondary schools is the Mevo'ot Yam Navigation School of Michmoret. Here, boys up to the age of sixteen-and-a-half who have previously completed nine or ten years of schooling, may take a one-year seamanship course, followed by a year of practical apprenticeship on a merchant vessel. This is a full-time residential school with some para-military training.

Kibbutz Education. The kibbutzim or collective settlements maintain and operate their own schools and cultural institutions. There are at least four major

kibbutz movements, each with its own political or religious party affiliation. Ayelet Hashachar and Beit Oren are typical of the older, well established kibbutzim. Generally, the kibbutz organizes everything for the child's physical and mental development, from birth through maturity. The children are raised and educated within self-contained units organized by age groups. They eat, sleep, play and are taught in the units through kindergarten. The parent collects the child every afternoon at about 4:30 p. m. and the family spends three to four hours together before he is returned to his living unit. The elementary age group are usually taught in a regular school building although they continue to live in their own residences. Because kibbutzim vary in size, from large to fairly small, children may be bused to a larger kibbutz which maintains secondary schooling for its own and other children from kibbutzim belonging to the same federation. Various kibbutzim also operate secondary continuation classes which provide two and four years of agricultural education. The kibbutzim also help in absorbing immigrant you (Youth Aliyah). At Kibbutz Sasa, for example, the Anne Frank Haven is maintained as a school and treatment center for youth with emotional problems.

The kibbutzim actually have only 82,000 or so inhabitants in some 232 collective settlements. Despite the fact that they represent fewer than 3% of the total population, the education, training, and over all ethos of the kibbutzim produce a strikingly high proportion of leaders in the defense forces. One estimate is that 40% of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Israeli Defense Forces are kibbutzniks -- a figure which may be exaggerated but is indicative of the consequences of such training. (Bruno Bettelheim's recently published, Children of the Dream, discusses this phenomenon in some detail.)

Other agencies and activities, are outside the formal educational system, in the sense that they are not under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education and Culture. The Children's and Youth Aliyah department of the Jewish Agency works with immigration and absorption of three kinds of youth: (1) young people coming to Israel unaccompanied by any relatives; (2) young people coming to Israel with relatives; and (3) children of immigrants already in Israel who have not yet been economically and culturally integrated. The first group is now relatively small, encompassing individual immigrants rather than groups, as in the past. For these boys and girls there are self-contained youth villages. Children of new immigrants are accepted into appropriate educational settings which will speed the youngsters assimilation into the life of the state; ath the same time, the strategy helps the families who, because of the initial difficulties of absorption, cannot devote themselves adequately to their children's education. The program also accomodates children of longtime immigrants whose cultural and economic integration is still in progress. Among them will be children from urban slums, development towns or immigrant villages. Thus, Youth Aliyah specifically aims at diminishing the cultural and educational gap separating these children from other boys and girls in Israeli society.

The work of Youth Aliyah goes forward in four different kinds of frameworks. First, there are youth groups in the kibbutzim in which the stress is on agricultural and vocational education. Second, some 80 academic, vocational, and agricultural institutions (with hostels attached) sponsor a variety of subjects of study and training. A third set of institutions stress rehabilitation for children who are physically and mentally healthy but culturally disadvantaged; foster families assist in the care of children with special problems. As they move ahead, the youngsters are transferred from these institutions to other Youth Aliyah programs. The fourth arrangement, Youth Centers, coordinate and administer various agency services for young people aged 16 to 17 1/2. Among these are technological and other skills training. One youth village, Kfar Batya, provides both agricultural and vocational training in an orthodox Jewish setting to more than 500 fourteen to eighteen-year-olds. The program involves both classroom instruction plus actual work in the fields and related shops. About two-fifths of the Youth Aliyah children receive their education on the kibbutz, where they absorb social orientation along with appropriate education. Usually, the kibbutz units of Youth Aliyah children consist of 40 to 45 youngsters who study together for a period of four years. In each instance the teacher-counsellors are responsible for not only the intellectual development of the students but also for their social and emotional growth. To solve the language problem, Israel has evolved "Ulpan" centers. "Ulpan" furnishes dormitory accommodations plus classes for intensive language training during six to eight months of the first year of study, in order to transmit a working knowledge of Hebrew.

The Israeli Defense Forces. Without question, one of the most important educational and cultural acculturation forces in Israel is the Israeli Defense Forces (I.D.F.). As former Chief Education Office, Colonel Mordechai Bar-On, observed, "The I.D.F. is one of the primary educational factors in the country which serves as a highly important agency for social development and as a melting pot for integration and immigrant absorption."

Aside from the basic Hebrew language courses, the I.D.F. provides a variety of other programs. Regardless of their formal education, soldiers who cannot use Hebrew well enough to carry out military duties are assigned to study the language six to seven hours a day for nine weeks. The Defense Forces obviously concentrate on military training but they perform an educational function which goes beyond military training. Unless physically unfit or exempt, all males and females enter the Defense Forces at age eighteen, men for two-and-a-half years and girls for two years.

With the arrival of large numbers of immigrant youth unprepared for self-support, the Defense Forces' vocational training adds another dimension: it fills a void created by the absence of other institutions, constituting a huge trade school that supplies society's enormous needs for modern technical know-how. For youth who enter at a low educational level, this program offers an opportunity to improve their basic skills and to acquire a vocational skill. Thus, the I.D.F. is an integral part of the total modernization of immigrants.

The I.D.F. also contributes broadly to the vocational training of Israeli youth. In a constantly expanding economy, much of the technical instruction is geared to eventual civilian jobs. Colonel Bar-On divides vocational training into these three categories:

1. Trades for which the training period is not more than a few months, which require no previous experience. The brief training period enables the army to benefit from the soldier's output for a comparatively long time after he has concluded his basic and vocational training.

2. Trades with a long training period which are not specific to the army. Personnel usually includes boys who have been trained at civilian vocational schools or in civilian industries as apprentices. They complete short courses in which their know-how is adapted to the specific military equipment. Besides providing practical experience in application of these skills, the Army seeks to coordinate its training programs with the schools' curricula.

3. Trades with a long training period which are specific to the army or for which the civilian industry or civilian vocational-training systems do not provide sufficient candidates.

The I.D.F. maintains its own pre-military technical training system with special technical schools for the Air Force, the Signal Corps, the Navy, the Ordance Corps, and the Engineer Corps. Thousands of boys ages sixteen to seventeen from all over Israel are enrolled in such programs for a year or two and acquire both specific vocational training and general education. Recently, thanks to the municipality of Haifa, this facility has acquired a vocational training school for fourteen-to sixteen-year-old boys. Youngsters completing the two years of training have the option of applying to the pre-technical training program. Also at Haifa is a cadet training school attached to the Beth Hasefer Hareali. The school itself is one of the oldest, largest and best-established academic high schools in Israel. The I.D.F. selects a number of youngsters with leadership potential, provides dormitory and related facilities, and conducts the military component of their training. For the rest of their program, the cadets are integrated into the schools' regular program. Upon graduation from the secondary school, they are assigned to officer training programs in the various branches of the armed services.

About ten years ago the I.D.F. decided that soldiers who lacked the elementary certificate would not leave the armed services before obtaining this. Camp Marcus, a special school, is maintained in the Haifa area to educate soldiers, many of them from Oriental backgrounds, during the last three months of service. The program consists of approximately 500 hours of instruction, administered nine hours daily. For assignment to homogeneous groups of twelve to fourteen, the soldiers take diagnostic tests. Instruction is carried on by girls who have been graduated from teachers seminaries and whose service take this form. Graduates earn a certificate

equivalent to the eighth grade certificate which the Ministry of Education recognizes. According to I.D.F. spokesmen, 90 percent of the soldiers graduate from these courses. In the last few years, as the general standard of education has been raised, fewer recruits report incomplete elementary education; thus, the school's curriculum has been modified to provide early secondary education. However, in this case the studies extend the period of regular military service by an additional four months. Again, the studies are intensive, covering 700 hours of instruction in four months to prepare pupils for external examinations and even for grants to continue their studies in civilian life.

At Camp Marcus, (where soldiers can complete elementary school) 85 percent of all enrollees are new immigrants from the Islamic countries and another 7 percent are Israeli-born children of parents from Islamic countries. A number of experiments have sought to determine the optimum timing of this particular experience. For example, in 1963-64, it was placed at the beginning of military service but proved to be a failure. The explanation seemed to be that youth who entered the military service in Israel basically wanted to soldier and not to study. Colonel Bar-On observed that while at a later stage many soldiers come willingly to the program, "there are not a few who fear that they will reveal their ignorance and educational shortcomings and that they may appear to the outside world as needing special treatment. Nevertheless, experience has shown that in the adult soldier, at the end of his term of service, this oppostiion, which is due to fear rather than indifference, can be overcome." Evaluation clearly shows that without question, there is a significant difference between the academic learning motivation of the Israeli soldier at the beginning of his service and that at the end of his term.

The I.D.F. must absorb youth with a tremendous range of intellectual aptitude and achievement. In the early stages of training, the intellectual criterion is somewhat submerged as other criteria such as physical ability, leadership qualities, and even aggressiveness are given considerable significance. In the early stages of his training, the best soldier is not necessarily the most intellectual soldier. It is Bar-On's belief that

> "feelings of achievement and success will give the young soldier a gradually increasing, new feeling of assurance, dilute the dense feelings of inferiority which had overshadowed all his life up to now, and assuage much of the internal tension and gradually break down part of the defense mechanisms which has has built up in childhood... Thus there arises amongst the soldiers a desire for further education and an ambition to improve oneself, which in itself is one of the best guarantees for the continued social development of the deprived classes."

The I.D.F. also makes a contribution to the elimination of prejudice and the minimizing of social friction. Obviously, Israel society is not free of biases nor of friction as its thoughtful members recognize. It is an evolving society in which the new immigrant

and the native-born sabra, the Orientals and the Europeans, the kibbutzniks and the urbandwellers are all given an opportunity to "acquire new tastes, develop new expectations and understand the improtance of new values."

The I.D.F. supports other activities including the Nahal and the Gadna. Nahal, which stands for "fighting pioneering youth", is a special corps which combines military training with agricultural training; it engages in the establishment of new settlements at strategic points along the border. Nahal soldiers, both male and female, are trained for combat duties but are vocationally and socially oriented toward kibbutz life. To some extent, Nahal represents an elite in its combination of military and pioneering efforts.

Gadna is the organization which operates the required pre-military training within Israel's civilian secondary schools. The Gadna program includes developmental activities such as reforestation projects, road building, and archaeological excavation.

Finally, the I.D.F. assigns teachers to border settlements and new villages. All girls who graduate from teachers seminaries enlist in the I.D.F. on completion of their studies and some (like those at Camp Marcus) serve in teaching assignments within the army. Others are given some recruit training and then are sent to regular primary schools in the border settlements or to schools with predominantly immigrant children. The army maintains discipline and deals with soldier-teachers' personal affairs, while the Ministry of Education supervises their professional functions. In addition, hundreds of girls who have been graduated from high school are given short extension courses and then dispatched to new settlements in border areas. As a result, hundreds of I.D.F. girl soldiers in uniform live in all-immigrant settlements and development centers in Israel, teaching children at elementary schools or adults in night schools, organizing youth clubs and to a large extent bearing the major load for educational and cultural affairs. Thus, the I.D.F. girls become one of the main agents in the process of acclimatization and acculturation of the new immigrants.

As Colonel Bar-On has pointed out,

> For this major contribution to the process of absorbing immigrants the army wins much praise from the population, and within the army itself develops an awareness of destination and mission, over and beyond its defensive duties. The gratitude of the country and this awareness of the army inevitably creates a moral commitment within the army itself and turns activity in these essential functions of the nation into an important part of the army's image and identity.

Programs in Higher Education.

There are several programs designed to provide higher education for disadvantaged

youth. One was established in February 1963 through the joint efforts of the Technion at Haifa, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the I.D.F. and the Ministry of Education. The purpose of the program was to increase the chances of admittance to institutions of higher education for Oriental Jews. The I.D.F. identified soldiers who were completing their military service and who met three criteria: (1) immigrants or the sons of immigrants, mainly from Islamic countries; (2) graduates of academic high schools who held a matriculation certificate and graduates of four-year vocation high schools who had taken a comprehensive examination; and (3) low socio-economic status groups. Soldiers who meet the first two criteria are notified by personal letters about the program and those interested complete several questionnaires which are sent to a screening committee for evaluation. The screening committee interviews the candidates and selects 45 for the Technion and 45 for the universities. The program begins in February and continues for six to eight months. Participants receive complete board and lodging from I.D.F., live in military barracks in army camps, wear military uniforms and receive pay and other services available to the armed forces. They are soldiers in all respects but one: their assignment is to study. Every morning they are transported from the barracks to the campuses, where they are engaged in group and individual learning and enjoy the facilities provided all the regular students.

The main purpose of the Technion's program is to enhance the chances of the participants to succeed in the competitive mathematics and physics examinations. Other enrichment courses involve chemistry, Hebrew, English, history and geography. Organized extracurricular activities are also provided. At the Hebrew University, the program is more divergent since there are more areas in which to specialize. Two core curricula were developed, one for those studying sciences and medicine and the other for those who were going into social studies, the arts and the humanities. A study of the program in terms of its identification and selection procedures and over-all success, showed that 90 to 95 percent of the Technion special group were admitted, as contrasted to 50 percent of the population as a whole. Of 396 candidates admitted in the first five years of the program, 346 finished the preparatory courses and 316 were admitted to the Technion and the universities. Half of the first graduating class at the Hebrew University achieved a grade of B or better and started graduate studies. At the Technion, one-fourth of the students were in the upper half of their classes, despite far-from-superior secondary school records. One of the disappointments has been the small number of applicants for the program. The proportion of Asian or African students is lower than was originally hoped, perhaps because the project is still relatively unknown, especially among the Oriental communities. An effort is being made to heighten the program's visibility and to increase the recruitment of Asian and African students. There are other problems: the completion of certificates, the duration of the course and the financial support provided. However, the program does represent one specific effort to equip disadvantaged for higher education by preceding regular enrollment with compensatory assistance.

Research and Experimental Centers. Israel maintains several research and experimental centers dealing specifically with the disadvantaged. The Henrietta Szold Institute, also known as the National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, has long been concerned with studies fostering intellectual development of culturally disadvantaged children. Drs. Moshe and Sara Smilansky have long been associated with the Institute; the former was Director of the Institute and researcher for a decade (1953-1964), before joining the faculty of Tel Aviv University. Projects currently underway include the following:

1. Growth and development of children from various social and ethnic groups -- a longitudinal study of the emotional, physical, social and intellectual aspects of growth and development of Israeli children from various social classes and ethnic groups in different types of surroundings.

2. A Study of the relative importance of different frameworks (family and kindergarten) in promoting cognitive abilities, imparting basic information, and modifying attitudes (in infants and young children from culturally disadvantaged strata) deemed essential for success in elementary studies. (This study experimented with socio-dramatic play in disadvantaged pre-school to evaluate its influence on cognitive abilities, basic information and attitudes. Several kinds of adult intervention were used; the one which seemed most effective involved kindergarten teachers and experimenters who provided the children with rich and meaningful impressions, together with direct guidance and example in playing habits and techniques.)

3. Follow-up studies of children now in the first and second grades, who participated in experimental kindergarten programs.

4. Experiments in the teaching and learning of arithmetic in the fourth and fifth grades attended by underprivileged children. These called for preparation of a battery of learning and teaching materials and the study of learning problems observed in classes of disadvantaged children.

5. Preparation and testing of instructional materials including a series of textbooks, workbooks and teacher's guides for use with culturally disadvantaged children in first and second grades.

6. A study of geography teaching in the fourth and fifth grades -- adapting the methods and teaching of geography to the needs of disadvantaged pupils.

7. Preparation and adaptation of programmed learning materials for use with disadvantaged children.

8. A study of problems in the psychology of learning of disadvantaged children whose parents have had no schooling beyond primary school.

9. Development of regional enrichment centers for disadvantaged children in the upper grades of elementary school where a wide range of courses were presented after school hours for the more promising children.

10. Selection and evaluation procedures for disadvantaged gifted children. These are concerned with developing tests for selection for secondary education.

11. Identification of promising students from socioeconomically underdeveloped strata and the follow-up of their development in promotive frameworks in secondary schools.

12. Study of attitudes and values of culturally disadvantaged but gifted children currently enrolled in a special high school.

Some of these studies are supported either in part or in total by the U.S. Office of Education, the Ford Foundation or the Educational Testing Service. Israel coordinates all research and development support from the U.S.A. through a panel of national commissions. Thus, American agencies provide grants which have been approved and coordinated by national groups.

The Hebrew University in Jerusalem has had a long tradition of concern and research for the education and development of the disadvantaged. Some of its current staff researchers include:

1. Dr. Gina R. Ortar, who has been conducting qualitative and quantitative analyses of mothers' speech addressed to small children in the home. The results of the analysis indicated quantitative rather than qualitative differences between the Oriental and western mothers. A program is now being developed to promote the verbal level of the Oriental small child through improvement of the mother's and the father's verbal behavior. A variety of means are being applied, using various kinds of materials as well as methods.

2. Dr. Dina Feitelson, who has been studying causes of reading failures in schools, In developing specially prepared reading program for disadvantaged school entrants, she has analyzed the basic problem as a series of sub-problems for which specific solutions can be tested. One outcome is a program focused on the special problems of the Hebrew language and those of the disadvantaged. The material, ir

loose-leaf form, to provide tangible rewards since the child gets additional pages as he achieves success. The stories are action stories in which the authors have "brutalized the sentence structure!" in order to make the content "jump at the child." Incidentally, Dr. Feitelson argues that the pre-school years should not be wasted in the teaching of reading: "Middle East children do not play and the child who has not played in early life will not develop creativity in later life." In addition, Dr. Feitelson has been concerned with training teachers for conditions of cultural diversity. The program is based on combining anthropological theory with field experience with families and community institutions as a way to breach the cultural gap between teacher and pupil. Still another study by Dr. Feitelson focuses on the effects of heterogeneous grouping and compensatory measures on disadvantaged pre-school children. The hypothesis being tested is that mentally alert, well developed peers will provide a stimulus to the less advantaged children and create an enriching atmosphere beyond what a single adult could achieve. This study has had mixed results thus far with the staff adjusting to ongoing findings.

3. Dr. Abram Minkowich has been engaged for five years now studying the role of readiness, enriched experience and manipulatory activities in mathematics instruction. He has been comparing the relative merits of the enrironmental and structural approaches in teaching arithmetic. An arithmetical readiness test, based in part on Peiagetian concepts, has been developed and used with first graders. The study also includes inservice training, materials development and testing, and classroom observation of teacher and pupil.

The National Council of Jewish Women (U.S.A.) has funded a Research Institute for Education of the Disadvantaged at the Hebrew University. This Institute is just beginning its research and development activities for the disadvantaged. Some of the above projects and other ongoing activities have been incorporated into the Institute's program. As described by the Institute's coordinator, Mrs. Jane Lowenstein-Cohen, projects in various stages of implementation include the following:

1. A study of the effects of teacher expectancy on classroom behavior is under the direction of Dr. Perry London. This study attempts to isolate factors that influence pupil performance that are a consequence of teacher expectations of that performance.

2. A study of the effects on academic performance of teaching disadvantaged children the elements of creative movement is under the direction of Mrs. Rachel Bilsky-Cohen. The hypothesis being tested is that teaching first graders creative body movements will improve their academic functioning.

3. Dr. Zvi Lamm is conducting a project on teaching reading to the disadvantaged using a picture book to communicate historical ideas while a very few letters in captions explain the pictures. The purpose of the program is to help disadvantaged children learn how to manipulate information more effectively.

4. Professor Carl Frankenstein, who has been concerned with education of immigrant youth for many years, is now preparing a "Typology of Secondary Retardation" based on studies of disadvantaged students in the program at the University High School. Such a typology, Frankenstwin hopes, will yield classifications which can be used in diagnosis and program planning.

5. Dr. Lee Adar and Prof. Frankenstein are studying the characteristics and behavior of teachers who are successful (in terms of pupil performance) with disadvantaged children.

6. A teacher training project aimed at helping teachers increase the ability of their students to think abstractly and conceptually is being undertaken by Mrs. Hinda Eiger.

7. An evaluation institute being developed by Avima Lombard and Mordechai Nissan is aimed at gathering and evaluating information about programs concerned with the disadvantaged in Israel, as well as abroad. This institute will be involved in assessing potential of Defense Forces dischargees from disadvantaged backgrounds who want to enter the university. A year of enrichment studies will be provided to make entry into the university easier and potentially more successful. The Institute will work on the preparation of tools for specific evaluation of student achievement in various areas throughout the educative process.

Dr. Reuben Feuerstein of the Jewish Agency's Youth Aliyah Department has been engaged for several years in what appears to be a very imaginative project which has produced an effective diagnostic battery to be used with children. The programmed instructional materials and accompanying teacher training, as described in literature and research reports, appears to be expecially promising.

Minority Education. As used in Israel, minority education refers to schooling for Christian, Druze and Arab children. The very small Christian population attends either religious order schools or public schools. The Druze population enjoys a somewhat unique minority status and has become an integral part of the nation, even to serving in the Israel Defense Forces. Many Druze children learn Hebrew as a

second language, large numbers attend secondary schools, and there is considerably more upward mobility than among Arab populations.

Among the Arabs, there has been a steady rise in school attendance especially for girls since primary education was made compulsory. By building some schools for girls only from grades four or five upwards, the dropout rate among Arab girls seems to have been reduced. Although sharply lower than that of Israel youth, secondary school attendance has grown steadily. The Ministry of Education has been working with area supervisors on curriculum materials for Arab schools and on teacher training. Arab college attendance has been quite sparse although there are now a few Arab faculty members at universities. Special textbooks for Arab children have appeared and more are being developed and distributed.

The general impression is that for the forseeable future, the Israeli policy is to provide equal-but-separate facilities for the Arab school population. In this sense, the Arab population's plight has more in common with segregated minorities in America. Israelis rationalize the situation in terms of survival problems. Given some degree of stability and peace, this policy is likely to change a good many Israelis point out.

In Summary. The problems of immigrant absorption and the upgrading -- educational, economic, social and political -- of the less advantaged portion of the population are clearly a national commitment for the State of Israel since its very survival rests on this modernization process. With limited natural resources, surrounded by hostile neighbors, Israel's assimilation of Jews from scores of nations is a deadly serious matter. Various government and quasi-government agencies consider the problems of cultural differences and how they can be preserved while trying to build the intellectual skills and competencies needed for a highly technological modern society. As one individual commented, "Israel can afford the luxury of a North African extended family with its patriarchal autocratic control so long as the children and grandchildren join the mainstream of a modern society." This is where the schools have their work cut out for them and where service in the defense forces serves such a vital integrating function.

No effort is being made to integrate Arab minorities and these groups continue to be basically segregated. Except for certain areas occupied during the June 1967 War (e.g., East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights), the huge Arab population of over a million people is viewed as only temporarily under Israeli control. The present policy is to provide essential services, including schooling, on a separate basis although teachers are paid on the same scale. Quite obviously, until there is peace and agreements have been reached on the future of the Arab populations under Israeli jurisdiction, the problems will continue and no stable plans can be made.

The native-born Israelis (Sabras) and Europeans (including Americans and South Africans) are clearly the dominant groups politically, technologically,

culturally and socially. They are still the decision-makers in all areas. So long as this is so, there will be considerable initiative and effort expended in finding ways and means for energizing the immigrants and children of immigrants to become "modern and Westernized." Industrially, economically and militarily, Israel needs trained brainpower.

There is frequent reference, sometimes in jest but more often serious, about "two Israels -- Black and White." Black Israel refers to the Oriental Jews from Islamic, North African and non-Western nations. Earlier efforts to distribute and disperse new arrivals were not entirely successful and the government moved to creating alternatives. Some new settlements (moshavim) are quite homogeneous while new towns are more heterogeneous; homogeneous villages and hamlets surround larger towns and cities. The new school reform is intended to provide some integration by establishing larger middle schools (grades 7-9) serving a number of elementary schools. The primary schools, the secondary schools and the Israeli Defense Forces are all called on to enhance intellectual development as a basis for sociocultural and technological skills.

There has been considerable communication flow regarding the disadvantaged between Israel and the United States for a period of years. The work of the Smilanskys, for instance, is well known here through periodicals and books. The Deutches, Bloom, Hamburger and others visit Israel regularly and serve as consultants. There is considerable familiarity with American research and development activities. Israel has a research capacity which is American-oriented and able to build on and to contribute to American experience. Israeli researchers and educational planners are eclectic in their approach. Thus, it is not surprising that the general lines currently being followed in program development are not strikingly different from those found in the United States -- longer school day with enriched experiences, extended school year, compensatory programs, Higher Horizon-type activities, special materials development. Israeli research on programs for pre-school disadvantaged, beginning reading techniques, diagnostic-development procedures, and child-rearing practices has applicability to American problems, although the structural differences between Hebrew and English limit some transferability of findings regarding reading and language development.

A major program difference is the Israeli experience with various residential programs. Quite clearly, the residential programs for disadvantaged pupils assume that by providing some of the conditions one finds in more advantaged homes, including supervised study and guidance, such students will be integrated into the regular school program and will succeed. The residential programs are boarding dormitories; the students attend regular day schools with efforts made to develop common value systems among the populations. Of all the residential programs, that of the kibbutz is the most unique. Bruno Bettelheim has written recently (Children of the Dream) about

his impressions of the significance of the impact of the communal living on kibbutz children. While the initial news stories reporting this publication tended to be somewhat on the sensational side, the book itself appears to be far less so.

Moshe and Sara Smilansky have circulated a preliminary report of a study titled, "The Intellectual Development of Kibbutz-Born Children of 'Oriental' (Middle Eastern and North African) Origin." This study provided an opportunity to examine rigorously on a nation-wide sample "the development of children from different backgrounds under similar intensive foster conditions throughout their period of growth and maturation." Kibbutz child care and educational programs seem to have raised the intellectual level of all children, closing the ethnic gap to some extent and raising the standards of the Oriental group as a whole. Nevertheless, the effects of parental background (i.e., father's schooling) are not completely eliminated, although it is not clear whether the differences are genetically or environmentally determined. These findings suggest that the organization and operation of the kibbutz educational system -- a total 24-hour-per-day effort from birth through age 18 -- has a significant overall impact. The kibbutz in Israel has a unique function in the total structure of the state; its ideological basis and educational structure are closely intertwined, feeding one into the other. It is quite improbable that the educational and child-rearing aspects would have much of an impact in a radically different social and economic structure.

Yet, what seems important from the total Israel experience is the belief that programs will have little effect if they are simply patched onto the existing programs. The Teunei-Tipuach program emanating from and coordinated by the Ministry of Education has attempted to build compensatory programs as an integral part of the total educational experience for the children involved. Teacher training, special materials, supervisory direction are all included in the planning. Evaluation of programs is, unfortunately, restricted due to lack of financing. Programs cover all educational levels, from early childhood through the university.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Israel's efforts in absorbing its new immigrants and upgrading its disadvantated populations is attitudinal. Of course, there is bias and discrimination, sometimes subtle and other times, less so. But, beneath it all is a widely held conviction that military, economic, political and social survival are dependent on trained manpower. If this has not been internalized by the time the youth enters the armed forces (the youth who does not serve is the obvious exception), the training and indoctrination which occur during military service underscore this point. Adult immigrants, many of whom come from cultures which are almost medieval, may not understand nor accept this need for modernization but youth who leave the armed services seem not to question it. It is this common value system, combined with an acceptance of the fact that although Israelis come from more than four score different nations, they are all Jews and all citizens -- since full citizenship is acquired immediately on arrival -- that produces a basic belief in developing individual potential to the fullest extent. One can harbor his prejudices and even

comment on the "Second Israel" or "Black Israel" but, when the chips are down, two Israels are a luxury that cannot be afforded. It is this attitude, together with relatively limited financial resources that guides Israel's educational efforts.

Immigrants and the Disadvantaged in England

One can look at two separate developments with respect to the disadvantaged in England. On the one hand, the differentials in educational attainment between working class youth and others increasingly had become a matter of concern in post-war England. Sociological studies of class differences had become part of the political and educational scene in the 1950's. A series of official reports beginning in 1959 with Crowther (15 to 18), Robbins (Higher Education), Newsom (Half Our Future) and, finally, Plowden (Primary Schools) added fresh data and focused public attention increasingly on the need for reform. Selective secondary schools have long been viewed by critics as a deterent to equal educational opportunity. On the other hand, parallel and more recent development has been the relatively large-scale influx of immigrant children, mostly from Asian (Indian and Pakistani), West Indian and Cypriot families. To a degree, the problems of education of working class children which had begun to receive official attention (particularly in the Newsom and Plowden Reports) seem now to have been downplayed except when such pupils are also immigrant children. Immigration and race are rapidly becoming England's most controversial political, social and economic concerns; as elsewhere, the educational aspects have not remained quiescent.

In the past two years, immigration into the United Kingdom has become the focus of considerable political activity which reached its climax in early 1968 with a hastily conceived "panic" measure designed specifically to restrict immigration of Asians from Kenya and generally to limit the inflow of non-white British Commonwealth citizens. Some politicians argued that racial bias was not the prime issue but rather the economic problems which had beset the country. Following the restrictive immigration legislation, a Race Relations Bill was passed which strengthened an earlier measure. Since the earlier exclusion act sharply curtailed immigration, the Race Relations Bill was not concerned with the number of people who would enter the country but rather with questions of how non-white immigrants who had already arrived or who might arrive in the future would be treated after being admitted. During the parliamentary debate, a Times editorial observed that "the immigrants already living here are among the poorest, the most badly housed, the most over-crowded, the least well-schooled and the most harrassed members of our population."

The two main lines of official activity presently are aimed at very limited implementration of the Plowden Report recommendations regarding "Educational Priority Areas" (EPA) -- a recommendation that "positive discrimination be observed in areas which have large numbers of disadvantaged children and youth" -- and at curriculum development through the Schools Council. The Plowden recommendations will be discussed later.

The Schools Council was set up in October 1964 "to carry out research and development on curricula, teaching methods and examinations in primary and secondary schools." Although quasi-official, the Council is an independent body whose membership is supposed to represent all sectors of the educational field with the majority of its members classroom teachers. Presumably a research and development group, the Council tends to do more development work than research. It issues three types of publications: Examination Bulletins, Curriculum Bulletins (reports on developments in curricula and teaching methods), and Working Papers (less formal reports on on-going curriculum development projects). The latter series are prepared by working parties and include a publication titled English for the Children of Immigrants. A working party is currently preparing a more comprehensive report on educational programs for immigrant children. The reports are usually the product of committee deliberations rather than any findings from research or experiementation although some projects do involve field testing.

Immigrants and Education. The designation "immigrant" is neither accurate nor specific. For example, the London Borough of Haringey categorizes immigrant children into seven groups as follows: Africans, Indians and Pakistanis, Maltese, West Indians, Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, and "others". However, children of immigrants who are born in England often find themselves at the same disadvantage educationally as do immigrant children who have arrived more recently from abroad. The official Department of Education and Science definition includes: (1) children born outside the British Isles who have come to England with or to join parents or other relatives whose country of origin was also abroad and (2) children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose country or origin was abroad and whose parents have not been in England for more than ten years.

The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) study of The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Primary Schools (7/11/67) showed a substantial increase in the number of immigrant pupils between 1964 and 1967 to a point where one in six (15.8%) children were designated as "immigrants." The immigrant children were distributed unevenly throughout the 881 primary schools: about half of the schools had fewer than 10% while 70 had more than 40% immigrant children (ranging up to 68%).

The ILEA cautions that such figures naturally cause people to speak of "the immigrant problem" without adequate qualification.

> For example, it is now becoming clear that in some under-privileged areas many immigrant children are providing a reservoir of ability which is very welcome in secondary schools. In many primary schools, also, children of immigrant families, expecially if they have had a full primary education in this country, are contributing both to the intellectual and the social quality of the school. Moreover, a multi-racial school community has educational advantages; it can be in itself an education to all its pupils, in racial toleration and in the diversity of human cultures.

The ILEA study attempted to assess the problems and the performance of immigrant children (including those born outside the U.K. who came to join parents or relatives also born outside the British Isles and those born in the U.K. to parents who had been in the country less than ten years). The eight major problem areas seen by school heads included:

1. Age of entry to U.K. schools. -- Some children arrive already of school age and, within 24 hours sometimes, are placed in school. The age of entry is often of crucial importance and sudden transition can be traumatic. The data showed a wide diversity of ages at which immigrant children entered primary school, varying lengths of schooling in the U.K. and variance between nationalities with more than half of the West Indian children having entered in 1964 or later. (This will now change due to immigration restrictions.)

2. Degree of mobility of immigrant pupils. -- The overall mobility of immigrant pupils is on the order of 15% althought the greatest turnover is among recent arrivals. In general, while mobility is not as high as had been expected, frequent changes of school soon after arrival constitutes a handicap for immigrant children.

3. Placement of new immigrants within school. --Depending in part on whether or not they are English-speaking, children may be placed in normal age classes and then may be withdrawn for general remedial or language help individually or in groups. In some instances, the remedial groups are the ordinary ones intended for indigenous children. Some schools provide reception classes where immigrants receive intensive skilled help in language and orientation before transferring to a regular class. / This procedure resembles those described in the New York City Puerto Rican Study in the early 1950's. / The ILEA proposed centers for educational and medical assessment to insure better placement of immigrant children. They also suggested considering play centers where education and integration could be provided during holidays prior to transfer into regular school programs.

4. The language problem. -- The majority of recent arrivals have some handicap in the use and understanding of English. These handicaps consist of a combination of limited vocabulary (in the case of West Indians, different words for the same meaning or different meanings for the same word), lack of knowledge of standard English structures, or non-standard speech rhythms and intonation. In addition, there are problems of bilingualism. Aside from the communication problems, the effective teaching of language is necessary in the development of the thought processes, in the tools for "the ordering of experience and thought."

5. Teaching staff. -- In response to a question as to how the ILEA could help, nearly all schools put "more teachers, or better teachers, or more specially qualified teachers either in first or second place in their order of priority." The average pupil-teacher ratio of sample schools with large numbers of immigrant children in January 1966 was 26.7 as compared with 27.7 for all London junior schools. The ILEA has provided extended courses, ranging in length from a week-end to a term, for training teachers for English as a second language or for more general understanding of education of immigrants. A center for teaching English to immigrants of secondary school age has also become an in-service center. The study found "that the attitudes of young teachers to the immigrants and their classes is usually excellent; what they sometimes lack is the practical technique to cope effectively."

6. Ancillary staff. -- The requests were for additional secretarial and welfare helpers to provide "yet another friendly adult in the school community who is ready to talk and listen to children."

7. Immigrants in the school community. --Some schools have sought ways to enable immigrants to make a special contribution related to their own cultural heritage. The different attitudes toward discipline, school routine, and purpose remain a source of strain and anxiety for many teachers.

8. Relations with parents. -- Parental interest in their children's education varies as widely among immigrants as among native English parents.

The ILEA study of 1,068 immigrant pupils transferring to secondary schools in September 1966 found that their performance on "Eleven Plus criteria" was consistently poorer than their English counterparts. The West Indian children, in particular, were not only performing more poorly than their English classmates but less well than other immigrant children from India, Pakistan, Cyprus and other countries. Students are placed in seven "profile groups" for English, mathematics and verbal reasoning. Only two percent of the immigrant pupils were found in Group I for the three "subjects" and about four-fifths were rated below the median for their English counterparts.

As the length of English education increases, performance tends to improve as well. But even though immigrant children who have attended school since 1960 or earlier do better than more recently arrived immigrants, they still do not perform as well as their English counterparts. The ILEA suggests that, "if some way could be found for more children to come in with their families at an early age, a good many of the attainment problems later would be eased." However, even with six or more years of English schooling, 40% were in the bottom two grades in mathematics, 42% in the bottom two levels in verbal reasoning, and 38% in the last two grades in English.

In their general comments, the head teachers frequently observed that "standards have fallen." While it was true that overall standards did drop because of the attainments of immigrants, the attainment of non-immigrant English pupils did not fall in schools with high immigrant proportions. It had been expected that attainment in schools with large immigrant populations would be lower due to: (a) pressure of numbers where the influx has raised the size of rosters; (b) diversion of teacher's energies to meet the special needs of immigrant pupils; (c) lack of mutual stimulus to able non-immigrant pupils; and (d) the ablest non-immigrant families moving out either as a response to immigrant influx into the neighborhood or because better housing became available. The ILEA Study clearly suggested that the standards of transfer of non-immigrant pupils in schools with high immigrant numbers do not differ from those of the total (immigrant and non-immigrant) group. The working party's eight recommendations included:

1. Implementation of the principle of "positive discrimination" as outlined in the Plowden Report.

2. Generous staffing and measure to attract teachers to areas with high percentages of immigrants.

3. Widespread in-service training for teachers in the high immigrant areas.

4. Additional ancillary services.

5. Classes for immigrant mothers.

6. Summer play centers to help in the transition.

7. Extension of the nursery education pre-school provisions in high-immigrant areas.

Government Circulars in 1965. In summer 1965, two government documents were issued. The Department of Education and Science issued its Circular 7/65 titled, The Education of Immigrants. An August 1965 White Paper titled, Immigration from the Commonwealth, sketched vaguely for local authorities a comprehensive program of housing, education and health for immigrants. The paper has been described as "the first attempt on the part of any government to formulate a coherent statement of future policy."

Both of these documents came about at a time when feelings about "coloured immigrants" were beginning to rise. In November 1963, Sir Edward Boyle, then Minister of Education, after meeting parents in primary schools Southall, had enunciated a policy as follows: "If possible, it is desirable on educational grounds that no one school should have more than 30% of immigrants." Boyle warned that unless action was taken to prevent concentration, it would be "both politically and legally more or less impossible to compel native parents to send their children to school in an immigrant area if there are places for them in other schools." By 1965

the government was urging L. E. A.'s to avoid de facto segregation at all costs. Yet, there are schools with concentrations as high as 90%. The problems of redistribution and desegregation are many and English encounter the same kinds of resistance as been found in the States. The immigrant controversy has been confused in part by the dearth of reliable statistical data. As late as February 1966, there were only estimates as to the numbers and concentration of immigrant children.

Sir Alec Clegg, Education Officer (Superintendent of Schools) of the West Riding Education Committee and author of "Children in Distress," has been very much involved in programs for both the "educational priority areas" and immigrants. He has been concerned that there are virtually no preventive approaches but only a waiting until children are in extremis before something is done to help them. As the need for unskilled labor continues to decline and that for trained manpower increases sharply, Clegg finds that immigrants are individuals with considerable initiative who often tend to show up the poor whites. With Clegg's initiative, an arrangement with three Oxford and three Cambridge colleges is being tested which enables the Education Committee to select students from working class families and send them to the cooperating college on scholarships, without meeting the usual competitive admittance requirements. Using very subjective measures, pupils who have gone to Oxbridge under these arrangements have been successful.

Clegg supports the "positive discrimination" proposals of the Plowden Report. About five percent of the schools in the West Riding area meet the Plowden educational priority criteria: "they serve poor social areas where there are many children from large families, many families unemployed or in receipt of social security benefits, where there is much truancy, poor attendance and with much more than their share of children who are retarded, distrubed, or handicapped or deprived and many who find normal speech difficult." He has proposed that such schools be given additional help by relieving the head teacher of a class, adding part-time teaching help, non-teaching assistants, and clerical help; providing for more books and materials; and providing pre-school nursery classes and play groups. Recognizing the significance of parental attitudes toward learning, he urges for considerable parent education, especially at the time just before or when the pupil enters school.

Professor John Barron Mays of the University of Liverpool who had studied inner-city youth in that city (Education and the Urban Child) is now attempting a follow-up study of the "Crown Street" population, much of which had been displaced with urban renewal. Many families had been moved to a new town in Southwest Lancashire where a "suburban working class ghetto" had been created. Mays believes that the English slum of thirty years ago encompassed the whole range of ability; the residual group in today's slums seems to be less able, more depressed, and feel more hopeless. When fear of "aliens" is added to those feelings, Mays sees the long-term malaise of English society with respect to race relations really coming to the surface. Consequently, what is now visible is an economic fear of immigrants which has become more and more "respectable" in the past year or so.

While the concept of the Plowden Report has been accepted in principle, the amount of money made available for any part of its implementation has been pitifully small. In July 1967, the government announced that a total of 16 million pounds would be made available over two years for school building in Educational Priority Areas in England and Wales. As Mays points out, many local education authorities are in a bind in that the designation or definition of the E.P.A.'s was left to them since, as the Department of Education and Science circular noted, "they are well placed to judge to what extent their areas contain districts which suffer from the social and physical deficiencies which the Plowden Council had in mind." While Local Education Authorities would certainly designate schools and buildings which might qualify for some of the money, an old English tradition causes hesitation since "no one wants to own up to being an educational priority area as a general rule."

Circular 11/67 noted that the Secretary of State would attach particular importance to:

> evidence that the children in a district are suffering from multiple deprivation because of the combination of several disadvantages in their environment. For example, where it combines several of the following factors: overcrowding of houses, family sizes above the average, high incidence of supplements in cash or in kind from the state, high incidence of truancy or poor attendance, a rapid turn-over of teachers and difficulty in attracting them to the district; the general quality of the physical environment including a concentration of crowded, old, sub-standard and badly maintained houses ...

Prejudice and Discrimination. One of Her Majesty's Inspectors has observed that the widely publicized, controversial speech by Enoch Powell M.P. in early 1968 may simply have sharpened and legitimized feelings which were already present. "Numbers of immigrants" is not included in EPA criteria as such, the inspector pointed out, although there is little question that more immigrants tend to reside in those areas which do meet the EPA criteria. While not specifically designated as part of Educational Priority Area determinants, in fact, immigrants are found in significant numbers therein. Until a year or so ago the policy tended to be: "Immigrants are citizens; children are children; white native children are not to suffer." Circular 7/65 which urged dispersing immigrant children was controversial and not accepted either by immigrants, who saw this militating against neighborhood school units, nor native English who saw dispersal as something artificial and discriminatory.

Over and over again the point is made by English educators that the essential problem is not one of racial or ethnic discrimination but rather that of teaching English as a second language or dialect, the language of the school differing from the language of the home. What was needed were programs or schemes for teaching English as a language of science, history, geography, etc. However, this is altogether too simple and, as events have indicated, the immigrant question has become far more central in the political and legislative sectors and this obviously reflects other aspects of life. There continue to be demands by politicians for greater restrictions over

immigrants, for treating Commonwealth immigrants essentially as aliens, and for sharply curbing the inflow of Asians and West Indians lest the problems multiply. What is clearly evolving is a serious confrontation which, at least to some observers, is beginning to parallel the urban problem of the United States. Public conscience is still undisturbed about the disadvantaged but the possible educational solutions, such as more generous staffing, better ancillary services, improved expenditures for enriching experiences, and remedial education -- all of these cost more money and money is in short supply in Britain at this time. Thus there is the shift to political legislation and administrative actions which are designed to keep the present rate of colored immigrants at a level which Britain feels it can absorb without severe upheaval.

In areas where the West Indians are concentrated, many of the same biases found in the States are also found. For example, one hears such as: "A West Indian school cannot be a good school." "A concentration of West Indians in a school results in a lowering of standards." "The West Indian pupil is more likely to crack under pressure of discipline in a school than other children."

In April 1967, a PEP study of racial discrimination was released. The study was based on three major surveys of discrimination in employment, housing and services (such as auto insurance and car rental). Research Ltd. interviewed 976 immigrants in the six main regions of England and 500 people "in a position to discriminate." In addition, 400 "situation tests" were undertaken in which a white British, a colored and a white foreign tester each applied for employment, housing and a service to determine the existence of discrimination.

The original PEP report was rewritten and published as a paperback titled, Racial Discrimination in England, by W.W. Daniel. The study revealed substantial discrimination against colored immigrants, with the differential treatment of them compared with other minority groups leaving no doubt that the discrimination was essentially based on color. The report points out that of the West Indians, Pakistanis and Indians, it is the first group that has experienced the greatest discrimination and exposure to rebuff since they have higher expectations on arrival and greater desire to participate in the British way of life. The Asian immigrants, on the other hand, tend to organize their lives in order to have a minimum exposure to situations that may result in discrimination. Discrimination in employment is the biggest single criticism and the area in which the greatest number of claims of discrimination are made. Whatever type of housing colored immigrants seek, they encounter either substantial discrimination or severe handicaps. People who are in a position to discriminate argue that "time would reduce discrimination; familiarity would reduce hostility and make immigrants more acceptable." The data apparently do not support such optimism and, in fact, the "awareness of discrimination, prejudice and hostility tends to make immigrants withdraw into their own closed communities."

Discussing the health and welfare of the immigrant child, Dr. Simon Yudkin, Chairman of the Council for Children's Welfare, noted that there are a number of common myths shared in Britain about immigrant children. He pointed out that "loose family ties, wider family networks are much more the rule all over the world than they are in England and it is very unusual, taking the world as a whole, for children not to be looked after by a number of aunts, great-aunts, grandmothers, friends, relatives and neighbors." Thus, the small, tight family situations which are typically English is a phenomenon found in relatively few other places. The relationship is not a lack of concern on the part of immigrants for their children but rather a different kind of relationship. Yudkin urges that: "We must show that we deal with people, whether they come from abroad or this country and that we have, above all, one philosophy; that children have different needs, but that they are all of equal worth. And if we do this, then I see no problem for the future." However, such an appeal appears to draw the same kind of response in England as it has in the United States.

The publications of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants follow a pattern of describing briefly the social structure and language problems of the immigrants, listing some educational problems found in English schools and then amking some terse suggestions. Pamphlets already published deal with the Pakistani, Indian and West Indian families. One publication is titled Practical Suggestions for Teachers of Immigrant Children. The suggestion is made in the publication that a distinction should be made between non-English speaking children and those who speak a form of English so that schools avoid lumping all children from overseas together as immigrants. It is argued also that "methods which are suitable for Cypriots in London are not necessarily suitable for Pakistanis in Bradford, Sihks in Huddersfield, Italians in Bedford or West Indians in Birmingham."

In July 1967, a committee of the Youth Service Development Council (an agency whose purpose is to offer opportunities for young people in their leisure time) issued a report on Immigrants and the Youth Service which examined the efforts of the Youth Service to attract and meet the needs of immigrant children. In general, the critical study indicated that "young immigrants have social deprivations and needs very similar to those of many of our own young people, and the reasons for the failure of the Youth Service to attract either group seemed to us on these grounds much the same." The single recommendation which emerges: "There is a need for a new attitude in our society towards immigrants, a conscious desire to create a new society."

The Council concluded that there was indeed prejudice against colored citizens which while not overt at present is widespread and only thinly overlaid. They endorsed the conclusion of a Brixton YMCA survey: "If England is not to be the scene of race riots .. the time for action is now. Tomorrow may be too late." What is needed is:

> a new social conscience throughout the country -- awakened not only by leaders of society at all levels and in particular by such agencies as the churches and voluntary bodies, but also by the younger generation --

not localized only in the areas of immigrant settlement but perkelating through to every neighborhood, street, classroom and club and to each individual man, woman and child... Racial integration is a moral issue, and it affects the newcomer as well as the native resident. We have to learn to live together, to understand one another's outlook and background, to recognize beneath differences of class, customs and color the common element of human dignity.

The Council stressed the vital role of the youth leader and his team, the need for training full-time and part-time leaders who intend to work in areas with immigrant populations, the organization of conferences of staff working with immigrants, and the recruitment of youth field workers from the immigrant groups themselves.

School Programs for Immigrants. A survey of procedures used to provide immigrant children indicated seven general patterns:

1. Normal placement: placing non-English speaking children in classes with English children without otherwise attempting to meet the immigrant's linguistic and social needs.

2. Normal placement reinforced by specialist teaching of English as a foreign language: extra accomodation and staff, with work undertaken by a teacher trained and/or experienced in the teaching of English as a foreign language or of trained peripatetic teachers of English.

3. Special classes: within the regular school organization, an intensive course in English is provided to enable the student to acquire a standard high enough for normal placement as soon as possible.

4. Special centers: children receive part-time instruction in special centers where specialist teachers and materials can be provided.

5. Reception centers: these are used to facilitate children's entry into the school system by giving them special language tuition and teaching them about the English way of life before placing them full-time in regular schools.

6. Dispersal schemes: non-English speaking children are dispersed to several schools to improve the educational and social opportunities available to them and to prevent a decline in the general educational standards of any one school that might result from a concentration on the needs of immigrant children.

7. Extra curricular activities: technical colleges and other further education institutions are organizing centers which combine social activities and language arts for adults and post-secondary aged children.

The Spring Grove School of Huddersfield in the industrial Colne Valley was one of the first schools to have more than half its population consist of immigrant children, including Asian and West Indian. As pointed out by Trevor Burgin who served as first head teacher (principal) of the school, the two groups represent quite different cultural as well as housing patterns. The West Indian, for example, put himself on the lists for low cost public housing and may be dispersed in such housing throughout the city. On the other hand, the Asians tend to rent and then buy in selected areas of town. The result is concentrated housing and large numbers of non-English speaking children attending neighborhood schools. At first, Spring Grove treated the immigrant problem as simply a language problem but soon discovered that there were also social adjustment and behavioral problems stemming from different kinds of family units.

Based on earlier experience, all non-English speaking students from ages five to fifteen are now sent to the Springwood Reception Centre where a trained, experienced team works with them. Children come to ther center as family units where they work in groups of 15 to 20 for six weeks of English instruction and then are dispersed to selected schools. The Reception Centre also serves as a center for teachers who come there for special training in language teaching training. At the Centre, children are also given a thorough medical examination, acculturation to such things as basic road safety, and acclimation to living and working in an English school.

The Huddersfield experience has unfolded cultural conflicts as well as language barriers. Asian families, for instance, oppose informality and see little use for youth activities and clubs. The L. E. A. has set up two activity centers which try to meld formal with less formal activities to provide a gradual transition and aid with cultural and social adjustment. Staff and parents are drawn from multi-ethnic and racial groups.

Huddersfield uses dispersal in order that schools will have 10 to 15% rather than 75% concentrations which would result from the residential patterns. Parents of both groups have been antagonistic toward these procedures. Immigrant parents prefer their children to go to neighborhood schools while the English parents are concerned lest the standards be lowered for their children by the addition of the immigrants. Huddersfield tries to deal with the needs of pupils by placing them in normal classes, more commensurate with ability than with age. Basic study problems are handled by peripatetic teachers under the direction of a Senior Remedial Teacher. This works well with the West Indians who do have some knowledge of English. Non-English speaking children are sent to the Springwood Reception Centre, as pointed out earlier.

Burgin now is responsible for coordinating and developing work with immigrant children throughout the Huddersfield L. E. A. His co-author, Patricia Edson, serves as head teacher of the Springwood Reception Centre. Burgin argues that two issues must be resolved at the national level: (1) the needs and difficulties of schools involved

in the teaching of English as a second language must be recognized and (2) the immigrants must be generally integrated into the social and cultural structure of England. The recruitment and continued training of qualified teachers is of critical importance. Burgin argues:

> We should continue the process of educating the children and doing our best to integrate them socially and emotionally whilst at the same time maintaining the ethos of a normal English school. To achieve our aim it is essential that the balance of immigrant to English children within the school should not excee 50-50 .... It is essential, too, that there should be sufficient English children of a high enough level of ability at which the integrated children can aim, in order to achieve a fully balanced multi-racial society in the future.

Mr. R. J. Werry, Headmaster of Tollington Park Secondary School, described the opening of that school in 1957 as a time "when the Greek-Turkish Cypriot war was brought into the playground." By 1963 the West Indians had started to arrive and the school was better able to absorb the Jamacians. The headmaster indicated the need for "a very strong line on discipline, especially for the West Indians who seemed to have a chip on their shoulders." The school has divided the 1,200 plus students into five houses, each with a head who has considerable authority. To cope with the language problems of the Cypriots, a visiting teacher was provided to teach English. Presently, two mornings a week are devoted to instruction in English in classes known as Laycock class for non-English speaking pupils. It has many extra-curricular activities and the headmaster has made special efforts to build staff morale and help with discipline so that staff stability will be improved. The headmaster and staff have worked hard attempting to provide a viable, integrated student body. One of the interesting aspects of the school was the link it had developed with Covnent Garden so that it has a rather outstanding music program. The area H.M.I., on the other hand, did not recognize either immigrant status or color as problems but observed that all difficulties would be resolved it the "child were viewed as an individual and treated as one." His feeling was thay any problems would be eliminated simply by improving the staff ratio and developing "a greater spirit of service to youngsters."

One of the feeder schools, Montem Junior School with more than 60% immigrants (Greek-Cypriots and West Indians) had a shifting population. The Cypriots tended to be well established; the West Indians were the new arrivals and were the most mobile; and the native English were moving out. The school had a generous staffing allowance including a permanent teacher of English as a second language, and considerable materials including tape recorders, flash cards, etc. There were part-time teachers who took small groups of children enabling the classroom teachers to work with those who remained. In addition, there were Voluntary Service Workers who helped with small group instruction. Housed in the same building, the Montem Infant School was a totally separate institution in almost every way. It also had well over 60% immigrants and the continuing flight of the native English from the area was noticeable. This infant school had a nursery class of 30 children selected from more than 180 applicants.

The head teacher spent half of her time in what she perceived as "social work"; evenings she was available to parents and visited homes regularly. She observed that the West Indian children seemed to have few toys, they tend to be more destructive of school equipment and to use a lot more consumable materials.

Mr. Roy Truman the District Inspector for the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) area of Islington has been working with the immigrant problem for more than eight years now. His description of the frustration among teachers whose strategies were not working with immigrants seemed a familiar one to an American. He generalized that the West Indian problem was essentially an emotional one while the Asian problem was essentially one of language. He has provided for conferences for head teachers and headmasters to analyze the problem and explore possible arrangements. Truman saw the schools as having gone through several phases in the past few years. First there was a period of apprehension regarding the communication and discipline problems. This moved to a second phase which he described as a "complacent condition" where it was assumed that things would work out satisfactorily if one stayed with them long enough. The third phase was that of recognition that basic simple language was not enough but that children do make ethnic discriminations. "Teachers are not really liberal but they project liberal views of themselves." In general though, teachers regret not teaching grammar school children and the secondary modern school child is becoming more and more aware of the occupation channels being limited for him. ILEA schools are just beginning to deal with problems of integration and discrimination and resources are not available.

Islington has a number of Community Service Volunteers who in return for board and lodging, work in schools, arranging for enriching field trips and trying to improve home and school interaction. Some authorities are attempting to reduce class size markedly, increasing the adult-child ratio by adding paraprofessionals and volunteers, providing for differentiated salaries of 75 pounds and providing for additional allowances for materials and supplies.

In Southall, one of the first Local Education Authorities to recognize problems of immigrants and to take action(it was here that Sir Edward Boyle first made his public pronouncement concerning a 30% tipping point) appointed special teachers of English and withdrew youngsters from regular classes two or three mornings per week to work with them. Children arriving from overseas were sent to reception classes of 20 to 24 pupils where they were given special tuition in English prior to taking their place in normal classes. The reception classes lasted anywhere from 16 to 18 weeks, depending upon the age of the child and his needs. Wherever possible, he moved from the reception class to a normal class in the same school. Southall attempts to limit the number of immigrants to not more than 40% in any one school and to bus children throughout the borough in order to maintain the "school character." The teachers of English of Second Language tend to be immigrants themselves and most do not themselves speak "British English." This has caused some problems in

that there are those who argue that the youngsters should have colloquial English from the start. This LEA arranges for two-day courses, lectures and inservice activities to provide teachers with information about backgrounds of the immigrant children. It has both reception centers and reception classes; the centers are isolated while some attempt is made to make the classes part of the schools in which they are located.

The Pathway Centre for Further Education is one of the few school centers for immigrant youngsters who are beyond the official school leaving age of 15 when they arrive. These teenagers find it difficult to enter normal secondary schools. The Centre is the first of its kind, a specialist center for a one-year intensive program in English language, English institutions and the British way of life. The program is intended to prepare the youngster for the world of work and to inform him of his responsibilities as well as his rights. It has generous staffing (the co-educational pupil body of 80 has a head teacher plus four or five additional teachers) and the teachers are writing their own relevant social studies units. Teachers are given time for preparing materials and for counselling youngsters. The boys attend a local technical college workship and are helped to go into apprenticeships and day release classes. Free evening classes are provided two nights a week. Tuition is free, there are maintenance plans for poorer students as well as subsidized meals for all, and all text and materials are provided. Indian parents still preceive that they are making a real sacrifice, in terms of giving up income from children's earnings.

Dorner's Wells Secondary Modern School in Southall has over 500 immigrant children of whom 30% are West Indian. It provides for both reception classes and withdrawal classes. They have also been developing their own materials, including tapes of pertinent English situations, a series of situational games and work books. Five of the schools are associated with the Leeds Project. Teachers for the withdrawal classes are given a full year inservice training. One problem faced is the high turn-over of staff: colleges of education which are just beginning to provide for teacher training are drawing off good teachers from the primary and secondary schools for their staffs.

Schools Council and University Projects. Two Schools Council projects are aimed at teaching of English to immigrant children. One, centered at the University of Leeds is preparing teaching materials designed primarily for children of Asian (Indian and Pakistani) and Cypriot immigrants. Although Indian and Pakistani children form the largest group, the project does not lump them together due to different first languages spoken and wide cultural divergencies among sub-groups. The Leeds Project began with an analysis of the pupils, teachers, and primary schools to determine criteria for designing materials. The project is a developmental one, with teams of teachers, academic specialists in relevant disciplines, and artisans combining to produce materials which are then tested in schools, revised and finally published.

The Leeds Project's task was to produce an introductory course for non-English speaking children ages eight to fifteen from all language groups in as many teaching situations as possible. Project director June Derrick describes the aim of the course as follows: "To provide an elementary grounding in oral English, with an introduction to reading and writing; the course as a whole should help with the social adjust ment of the child to his new surroundings (in and out of school) and with his general education." The heart of the Leeds materials is the Teacher's Guide which outlines a language scheme, specifies structural features that pupils should learn to control, indicates specific items they should learn to respond to, lists a minimum vocabulary, and presents a thematic framework from which the teacher can work. The materials also include movable visuals, flash cards, and picture cards. In Spring 1968, the materials were being tested in approximately 140 schools with teachers receiving inservice orientation and limited supervisory assistance. Each of the participating teachers is required to send information on how he has used the materials, problems he encountered and his impression of the results.

The first of the Leeds materials have now been published by Books for Schools, Ltd., a consortium of publishers who prepare materials for The Schools Council. The package is called, Scope: An Introductory English Course for Immigrant Children, materials for use with newly arrived non-English speaking children. It consists of a Teacher's Book, a Picture Book, a Work Book, a set of Readers and a Teacher's Package containing such things as a magnet board and magnet figures, wall pictures, flash cards and phonograph records.

A second major project is located at the University of Birmingham and takes a very different form in studying the needs in teaching of English to West Indian children. Unlike the Asian children who either speak or whose parents speak Punjabi, Gujerati, Bengali or one of the other Indian or Pakistani languages, the West Indian immigrants usually speak a heavily dialected English. The Birmingham project has three phases planned: (1) evaluation and analysis of teaching and learning problem; (2) experimentation with materials and techniques which have been developed on the basis of findings of phase one; and (3) evaluation of materials and techniques tested in school situations. The first phase has now been completed and involved collection of data about West Indian children in schools in six local education authorities. Information includes descriptions of West Indian children's behavior and their reactions to classroom situations; analyses of intelligence and reading achievement of a sample consisting of all the eight-nine year olds in one L.E.A.; and experimentation with eight and nine year olds using Intelligibility Tests designed to examine lexical interference. In addition to achievement differences, the data suggested a slightly higher incidence of behavior maladjustment among the West Indian than among English children.

The two projects differ considerably in their approaches. The Leeds project is basically program and materials developmental and uses research somewhat sparingly. The Birmingham project is much more rigorous in its design and

sophisticated in its approach, focusing first on diagnosis of the problem and the needs of West Indian learners and their teachers as the basis for development of materials.

Since 1962, a different kind of inquiry has been conducted by Dr. Basil Bernstein of the University of London's Sociological Research Unit. The original study focused on five general areas: (1) a study of social class differences in the way mothers prepare children for the infant school experience; (2) a study of maternal communication to and control over young children; (3) a study of the speech patterns of children aged five to seven dealing with the social factors affecting their speech; (4) the development of an exploratory language program for working class infant school children; and (5) an evaluation of the effects of such a limited language program.

The original research dealt with a lower class population only but was expanded to include the middle class population in 1965. Two groups of East London schools were selected for the study: a block of nine schools formed the experimental group and four schools provided sociological contrast with the "homogeneity" of the experimental schools. In three of the experimental schools, the design called for working with teachers first weekly and then bi-weekly to work out an exploratory language program which would encourage the children to become sensitive to various uses of language. Three additional schools involved teachers in a limited research exercise. The aim was to heighten teacher interest in their children; which no language program was to be developed, nothing was done to prevent the teachers from discussion or working towards language considerations. The third group of three schools was to be left entirely alone. Four other schools were included to increase the social heterogenity of the families and children in the total sampling. In September 1964, the program began with interviews of mothers whose children were entering the infant school and testing of the children on ability measures. Speech collection ability tests were used to sample the language of the children both in terms of unobserved spontaneous speech and formal speech. The spontaneous speech was measured through wireless transmitters. A sample of middle class children from an outlying Southeast London Borough was then added. Language samples were taken and a second maternal interview was conducted. The Bernstein studies are now being reported and should have significant leads for language development as it relates to social class differences. The research is interdisciplinary in nature combining sociology, psychology and linguistics.

The Social Science Research Council funded Dr. A.H. Halsey of Oxford's proposal for a rather large-scale program; initial planning began 1 May 1968. The project is to last for three years and will cost approximately $420,000 -- a considerable sum for English programs. Titled, "Educational Priority Area Action Research Program," the project involves the development and evaluation of E.P.A. programs in five LEAs (Dundee, West Riding, Liverpool, London and Sunderland.) The action involves the development of programs designed to: "(a) raise the educational performance of children; (b) improve the morale of teachers; (c) increase the involve-

ment of parents in their children's education;and (d) increase the 'sense of responsibility' for their communities of the people living in them." The research will consist of assessing the program provisions. Each LEA will have its own program coordinator (similar to a Title I director here in the States) and researcher who will evaluate the programs which have been developed. Each area is to develop its own plans under its local Project Director. The programs involve such activities as experimental play groups for pre-school children; addition of educational social workers to develop closer home and school relationships; development of links with a College of Education and the establishment of teacher training centers. In addtion to these common activities, each LEA is developing its own special programs. For example, the West Riding planned a "social education center" to provide a refuge for all kinds of "socially inadequate children," making available places for youngsters who rejected or who had been rejected by the youth clubs or other formal associations. Independent evaluation of the action programs is to be undertaken with area universities.

Teacher Needs. The National Union of Teachers, the largest in England and Wales, with a membership of a quarter of a million teachers, quite naturally has been concerned with immigrant children for the past several years and issued a policy statement in early 1967. The NUT statement, opposed to any discrimination due to differences of race, religion or color, set forth as its goals the rapid integration of children into the educational system, and concurrently, the integration of adult members into their communities. The NUT supported integration ("incorporation into full membership of the community as a whole while still respecting and allowing for the expression of differences of attitude, custom and convention, and above all language and culture") and reject the idea of assimilation, meaning obliteration of differences and superimposition of majority patterns on minority groups.

The NUT stance is clearly on the side of the angels,urging support for any modifications which have promise without advocating any specific approach. The union, quite naturally, interested in ways in which teachers from overseas are used, urged that all teachers have reasonable fluency in English, fluency that will enable them to communicate with all children. The union is concernedwith teachers from countries where English, though not the indigenous language, is second language for at least some part of the population. The NUT statement observes that such teachers rarely realize how great a divergence has developed between the native version of English and that which one finds in their own countries. The problem is made more difficult when immigrants find that their dialected English is quite intelligible to adults who are used to making adjustments. In a country in which speech is still so important, the inability of a teacher to speak "standard English" handicaps him insofar as his relations with parents are concerned. The union is also concerned about the methods and procedures of immigrant teachers quite formal compared with more informal and child-centered techniques found in most English primary schools. The NUT urged that appropriate training courses be provided, indicating its general willingness to cooperate in absorbing teachers (particularly in the light of the teacher shortages). However, they underscore problems of language and pedagogical training as major ones

which are not easily resolved.

Teacher training to cope with the problem is just beginning and generally is at an elementary level. There are two and three day courses sponsored for teachers in-service. These may deal with such topics as "Race Relations in Schools," "The Biological Aspects of Race," "The Historical and Psychological Aspects of Race," and "Race Relations in Secondary Schools." A three day conference at one college dealt with the theme, "Immigrant Children and Cultural Shock." Didsbury College of Education in Manchester is one of the few teacher preparing institutions which has a program for preparation of teachers for the disadvantaged. In addition to focusing on urban sociology and psychology, students have experiences in inner city schools.

There are a few efforts made to provide better and more informed teachers both from the ranks of the immigrants and colored as well as the native English. Even now, there are very few West Indian teachers (Braithwaite of To Sir With Love was and is still an exception). The Indian immigrant often has "paper" teaching qualifications but lacks standard English dialect and needs considerable retraining with respect to English methods and relationships, tending to be too formal and to stress rote learning. There are at least five centers (Bradford, Nottingham, Leiceister, Wolverhampton and London) which now run four-term courses for retraining immigrant teachers. There is, in addition increasing attention in teacher training courses to socio-psychological factors affecting learning. Supplementary courses for teachers in service running one to three terms or short week-end conferences are being provided in greater numbers. The Department of Education and Science has appealed to married women to return for refresher courses and to teach.

There is a shortage of teachers of English as a second language for immigrant pupils. Some local authorities are unconvinced of the need for such teachers and others who want such staff members are unable to recruit them. There is considerable controversy about the employment of immigrants as teachers of English because of the differences in their pronunciation and intonation. Those who support the use of immigrants as teachers argue that they are the only ones capable of providing a link between the school and non-speaking English parents since they are able to share a common first language. The analogy to the poor pronunciation of many English teachers of French is brushed aside because of two differences: (1) that the immigrant children must learn English which will be good enough, not only to pass muster in everday situations, but, as the medium of the immigrant's whole education in English schools and (2) the English teachers of French are used to the methods of English schools, whereas many otherwise qualified immigrant teachers are accustomed to a much more formal approach. This discrepancy between the immigrant teacher's version of English, especially if he is from the West Indies, and the U.K.-born English teacher has resulted in rejection of teachers from posts, causing many of them to believe that the rejection was totally a matter of racial discrimination.

There is some interesting study of the problem of intercomprehensability -- a communication between speakers of different variants of English. As A.H. King has point out, the problem of teaching immigrants is often one of teaching pupils English who believe that they already speak it. There is debate as to what kind of English immigrants are expected to speak: Should they absorb the local dialect or retain their own in group characteristics? "It is more difficult to break down a speech ghetto than a housing ghetto," one observer has noted.

Writing in a pamphlet published by the National Conference of Commonwealth Immigrants titled, Research and the Teaching of Immigrant Children, Ronald Goldman noted, "There is a great need for research into the problems of teacher training as it is affected by the presence of immigrant children and the children of immigrants in the schools of this country. This need has not yet been fulfilled and there is virtually no research directly connected with this problem. There is, however, a fair amount of relevant work which impinges upon it." He suggests that appropriate research might include: analytic diagnostic evaluation, investigation into remedial measures, studies of experiemntal programs, demographic studies, diagnosis of potential, linguistic analyses, studies of socio-cultural factors affecing educational institutions, evaluation processes and studies of compensatory education.

Concluding Observations. The "immigrant" population in England is estimated at two percent of the total population -- a figure misleading in several ways. For one thing, the term is usually applied to nonwhite Commonwealth immigrants only (Indians, Pakistanis, West Indians) although Greek and Turkish Cypriots were included earlier. The estimated equal number of one million white Commonwealth immigrants are not included in any discussions of the problems. Secondly, the nonwhite immigrant population is concentrated in a relatively few population centers -- in and around London, the industrial belt of the Midlands, and a few port areas. Here the concentrations take the form of residential ghettoes; schools may have 60 to 90% nonwhite populations. While there is clearly a language problem (either non-English speaking or speaking English with a heavy dialect), to ignore the underlying racial tensions is to behave in ostrich-like fashion. And yet, a good many British people -- including educators -- seem to be doing just that.

A decade ago, the so-called "Notting Hill riots" were viewed with alarm but as typical for Britain. At that time, English schoolmen could still reflect on the American situation and advise how U.S. schools might handle desegregation. In the intervening years, the immigration of nonwhites continued as they were needed by British industrial, transportation, and service industries. When Enoch Powell, conservative M.P. from Wolverhampton made his controversial speech, ("We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual flow of some 50,000 dependents who are for the most part the material for the future growth of immigrant-descended population. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre."), he brought to the surface latent prejudice. The discrimination against nonwhite immigrants was no less damaging because it was carried on with

British tact and quietness. In short, there is a volatile racial problem in Britain which, while nowhere near as extensive of intensive as America's, cannot be downplayed. It will not go away if ignored nor will it be resolved by a typical British-coping approach.

Educationally, there are parallels with education in America's ghettos, even to the white-flight (working class, rather than middle class, usually). As Alan Little, Director of Research for the Inner London Education Authority observed:

> It would be unrealistic to deny that this creates or intensifies for the school system a range of educational problems. Some are akin to the general difficulties of educating young people from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds, others are more specific problems of the linguistic handicaps of youngsters coming from non-English-speaking countries.

A few British educators and politicians have begun to ask what England can learn from the American experience -- what should be avoided, if not what should be done. The lines being followed in provisions for the immigrant children resemble generally those of the Puerto Rican Study in the mid-1950's (i.e., reception classes, withdrawal classes, language reception centers, specialist teachers, etc.) without visible evidence that any use is being made of those experiences. In fact, far too little information about American research and development efforts -- whatever their quality and design -- seems to be available in Britain. One suspects that more is known about Basil Bernstein's work in the United States than in England. Efforts are being intensified by several groups to examine American experience for adaptation to English problems. (One professor observed that "It should not be necessary to reinvent the wheel!")

The Plowden Report placed concern for depressed areas high on the list of educational priorities and advocated "positive discrimination" to help overcome the discrepancies which stem from environmental forces. One of the Plowden studies, Wiseman's Manchester Survey of the relationships between educational attainment and environmental factors, including the environment within the school, had pointed out that "environmental forces bear most heavily on the brightest of our children; and that factors in the home are overwhelmingly more powerful than those of the neighborhood and the school." The report speaks of Educational Priority Areas where "educational handicaps are reinforced by social handicaps."

The general criteria for identifying EPA's were listed by Plowden and are far more comprehensive than the "poverty level" designation of ESEA's Title I. Some LEA's, such as the Inner London Education Authority have developed technically sound means of preparing an index made up of 10 equally weighted criterion items.

The Plowden Report recognized the need for more coordinated health, housing, and educational planning but, limited its recommendations to the school sector. "Positive discrimination" is recommended to raise schools with low achievement standards first to the national average and then beyond. Most of the suggestions are

relatively modest: providing new or improved buildings, improving staffing ratios to better than 1:30, providing salary incentives of $288, assigning a teacher aide for every two classes, making nursery education generally available. The report also urges that research be undertaken to determine which of the activities has the most positive effect. Unfortunately, Britain's financial crisis has made it impossible to do more than provide 16 million pounds ($38.4 million) for school building construction and make a start on salary incentives. In making the announcement on April 4, 1968, the Secretary of State for Education noted:

> It is a measure of the importance which the Government attach to the improvement of social conditions that, despite the country's economic difficulties, we are going ahead with this programme.... The concept of Educational Priority Areas is one of the most imaginative proposals of the Plowden Report.

Some steps are being taken with respect to curriculum and materials development (e.g., Leeds and Birmingham projects) but these are still limited. The Schools Council's working party on compensatory education is still preparing its report and the implementation is some time off yet. Teacher training -- both pre- and inservice -- has been, with very few exceptions, restricted and unimaginative. The Halsey-Social Science Research Council Project is one of the few large-scale programs for development of E.P.A.'s. The five LEA's involved were not required to present firm plans for the three-year period of the project; these are now being individually developed. The total funding (100,00 pounds from the Department of Education and Science and 75,000 from the Social Science Research Council) is for a three-year period as well. While a pound has greater purchasing power than its dollar equivalent, this is still limited funding for five areas over three years. Halsey's project is making a serious effort to capitalize on America's experience and mistakes. Contact has been made with numerous groups and sources to use research and program development as a base for planning in the U.K..

Although Professor Basil Bernstein is best known in the United States for his linguistic-sociological research, his current work seems to be concerned with more fundamental restructuring of the school as a socializing system. The details of the implications of Bernstein's current research should be of interest to American planners when it becomes available shortly.

Broad policies and startegies for dealing with the economically disadvantaged and immigrant populations in Britain are just beginning to be thought about. Because of England's unusual relationships between the Department of Education and Science at the national level and the Local Education Authorities, program development proceeds quite differently from American research and development efforts. Regional cooperative arrangements are emerging but there is still considerable "going it alone." What is in the works thus far consists of language development programs, remedial and compensatory programs, proposals for early intervention, parent

education, and materials development -- all designed to bring the immigrant and disadvantaged child into the educational mainstream. Little or nothing is being done about racial understanding and the weak enforcement procedures of the Race Relations Act of 1968 necessitate considerable education on the part of all races. One has the feeling that the traditional sense of "British fair play" is being eroded as the social and economic pressures build.

Although there are significant differences between the problems of the immigrant and the disadvantaged in England and in the United States, the similarities and parallels warrant establishing channels for regular flow of communication. This should be organized on a far more systematic and comprehensive basis than a personal relationship among individuals.

Partial Listing of Individuals and Institutions Visited

Israel

Dr. Lee Adar, J. Dewey School of Education, Hebrew University

Dr. Chaim Adler, Department of Sociology, Hebrew University

Dr. Rivka Bar-Joseph, Department of Sociology, Hebrew University

Col. Mordechai Bar-On, Youth Department, Jewish Agency

Mr. Beltson, Chief Inspector T. T. Program, Ministry of Education, Jerusalem

Mrs. Tova Ben Dov, Supervisor of Elementary Schools, Haifa

Mrs. Margalit Berlinger, Assistant Principal, Bet Hasefer Hareali, Haifa

Mr. Ziv Berlinger, Supervisor of Science Education, Haifa District

Dr. Dina Feitelson, J. Dewey School of Education, Hebrew University

Dr. Seymour Fox, Dean, J. Dewey School of Education, Hebrew University

Dr. C. Frankenstein, J. Dewey School of Education, Hebrew University

Mr. Jonathan Gally, Supervisor of Secondary Schools, Haifa

Miss Miriam Glickson, Henrietta Szold Institute

Mr. Lov, Principal, Kfar Batya Youth Village School

Mrs. Jane Lowenstein-Cohen, National Center for Research on the Disadvantaged, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Dr. Noah Nardi, Ministry of Education, Jerusalem

Dr. Gina D. Ortar, J. Dewey School of Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Dr. Channan Rappaport, Direcotr, Henrietta Szold Institute, Jerusalem

Mr. Moshe Rappaport, Superintendent of Schools, Haifa

Mr. Ephraim Rocach, Director of Tcunei-Tipuach Program, Ministry of Education, Jerusalem

Dr. R. Rottenberg, Technion-Israel Institute of Technology

Professor Moshe Smilansky, Tel Aviv University

Dr. Sara Smilansky, Henrietta Szold Institute, Jerusalem

Lt. Col. Yitzhah Ziv, Col. Marcus School, Haifa

Bet Hasefer Reali

Bet Hasefer Yam at Michmoret

Col. David Marcus School (I.D.F.)

Ekron Elementary School

Israel Defense Forces Pre-Technical Training Base

Kibbutz Ayelet Hashachar

Kibbutz Bet Oren

Kibbut Sasa (Anne Frank Haven)

Rosh Hashayra Elementary and Secondary Schools

Weizman Institute (Program for High School Students)

Partial Listing of Individuals and Institutions Visited

England

Miss A. Elizabeth Adams, General Inspector, Surrey Education Committee

Miss Jocelyn Barrow, Lecturer, Furzefown College of Education

Professor Basil Bernstein, Professor of Sociology, Institute for Sociological Studies, University of London

Professor W.A.L. Blyth, Department of Education, University of Liverpool

Mr. Trevor Burgin, Huddersfield Education Committee, Huddersfield

Mr. John Burroughs, Chief Inspector, Department of Education and Science

Sir Alec Clegg, Chief Education Officer, West Riding Education Authority

Miss June Derrick, Schools Council Project, Institute of Education, University of Leeds

Mrs. Patricia Edison, Springwood Reception Center, Huddersfield

Mr. Everton, Consultant for Immigrant Education, Borough of Haringey

Mr. Freakes, Deputy Education Officer, Borough of Haringey

Dr. Ronald Goldman, Principal, Didsbury College of Education, Manchester

Mr. Frank Gorner, Department of Education, University of Manchester

Professor A.H. Halsey, Department of Social and Administrative Studies, Oxford University

Mr. Peter Hoy, Staff Inspector for Educational Relations Overseas, Department of Education and Science

Mr. Darlow W. Humphrey, Chairman of the Department of Education, University of Bristol

Mr. Louis Kushnik, Lecturer, Department of American Studies, University of Manchester

Dr. Layborn, Director of Education, Manchester Education Committee, Manchester Education Committee, Manchester

Professor John B. Mays, Professor of Sociology, University of Liverpool

Mr. Stuart McClure, Editor, Education

Mr. C. T. Miller, Deputy Education Officer, Ealing Education Committee, Ealing

Miss Marjorie Morris, Head Teacher, Brookland Junior School, Finchley

Mr. A.D.C. Peterson, Chairman of the Department of Education, Oxford University

Mr. Douglas Pidgeon, Deputy Director, National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales

Mr. John Sinclair, Department of English Language, University of Birmingham

Professor Philip Taylor, Department of Education, University of Birmingham

Mr. Roy Truman, Divisional Inspector for Inner London Education Authority, Islington

Dr. Stephen Wiseman, Director, National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales

Brookland Infant School, Finchley (Mrs. M. Cushen, Head Teacher)

Brookland Junior School, Finchley (Miss M. Morris, Head Teacher)

Dorner's Wells Secondary Modern School, Southall (Mr. A.S. Grace, Headmaster)

Featherston County School, Ealing

Montem Infant School (Mrs. W. Bindley, Head Teacher)

Montem Junior School, Islington (Miss Woodhall, Head Teacher)

Pathway Reception Center for Further Education, Ealing

Spring Grove Primary School, Huddersfield

Springwood Reception Center, Huddersfield (Mrs. P. Edison, Head Teacher)

Tollington Park Secondary Modern School, Islington (Mr. R. J. Werry, Headmaster)